

DRAFT CHARTER FOR THE UNITED FRONT  
FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

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We, Angolan patriots, determined by our people's just struggle in defence of freedom,

Ennobled and spurred on by the supreme sacrifice made by our glorious and immortal martyrs,

Conscious of the import and dimensions of the national struggle against the colonial yoke launched by the Angolan people in legitimate self-defence,

Convinced that the present stage demands of all the pursuit of the sacred fight for national liberation with renewed determination,

Resolved to endow the people's struggle with a broad, dynamic and efficient patriotic Front capable in the shortest possible time of creating all the conditions, both abroad and inside our country, for the liquidation of the colonialist aggressors and their allies by the people themselves,

And, to this effect,

Prepared to apply a policy of national unity made up of fraternity, criticism and cooperation, wholly based on respect for the options of each and for the structure of each organisation, on a tolerant quest for the freely consented agreement of all, on the joint application of these agreements in action, in unison with the people, and on the satisfaction of the people's just demands,

Reaffirm our unshakable faith in the final victory of the people's liberation struggle,

Proclaim, once again, our just confidence in the historic alliance between the MPLA and the FNLA sealed on 13 December 1972,

Decide to associate our patriotic efforts ever more closely to fulfil all these aspirations,

and, consequently,

Create the common nationalist organisation, whose acts shall be as follows:

## CHAPTER I

### NAME, AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

ARTICLE 1 - Name: United Front for the Liberation of Angola (UFLA).

ARTICLE 2 - The aim of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be revolutionary armed struggle to win national independence which shall ensure the country's territorial integrity and the building of a free, sovereign, united, democratic, prosperous and African Angola.

ARTICLE 3 - The Angolan struggle is a national struggle.

Foreign aggression and the people's struggle sparked off by that very

aggression in Angola constitute a decisive factor in the process of nation formation. Lackeys of the colonialist and imperialist enemy are enemies of the nation.

ARTICLE 4 - The Angolan struggle is a liberation struggle.

(a) The liberation for which we are fighting is that which shall give the people the right to choose, without foreign interference, the economic, political, social and cultural system which shall best permit them to achieve constant progress and growing moral and material well-being.

(b) The liberation for which we are fighting is that which shall give the people the power to seek, discuss and freely vote for the best solutions to the country's problems, whether they be of a political, economic, military, social, cultural or other nature.

(c) The liberation for which we are fighting is a democratic struggle to build a democratic Angola for the people. Power shall belong solely and exclusively to the Angolan people.

(d) The liberation for which we are fighting is in order that the people may give and receive sincere help from all peoples in the world.

While taking into account its own realities, the nation shall draw upon all that suits it from other peoples and actively cooperate with all those who wish to consider it on the basis of respect and mutual benefit.

(e) The liberation for which we are fighting implies and presupposes the liberation of the peoples who are still subjugated, and particularly that of African peoples.

ARTICLE 5 - The Angolan struggle is an armed struggle.

The armed form of struggle is the principal form in our liberation effort. All forms of struggle must serve the development of the national war.

The war we are waging is wholly governed by the policy of national liberation; it is a war with political objectives, a politico-military struggle.

If aggression were to cease in Angola, if the enemy were to accept the legitimate demands of our people in arms, the national war would cease.

ARTICLE 6 - The Angolan war is a people's war.

Only the full mobilisation, broadened organisation and general arming of the nation can ensure victory over the enemy of the nation.

No one can take the place of the Angolan people in the liquidation of colonialism.

It is essential to get the Angolan people to contribute voluntarily to the war, with their human and material resources, fundamentally prompted by an acute awareness of the need and the duty to struggle for their own liberation.

ARTICLE 7 - The consolidation and broadening of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall ensure the mobilisation, organisation and full arming of the nation.

Any exclusiveness which would reduce the United Front for the Liberation of Angola to a sect is contrary to national unity.

ARTICLE 8 - Only the step by step creation of unitary machinery in the political sphere, the diplomatic sphere and the military sphere can ensure the formation of the new spirit and new style of struggle indispensable to the victory of unity and of liberation.

## CHAPTER II

### MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE 9 - Membership of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be open to all Angolan patriots and all organisations which really exist inside the country, which are fighting unequivocally for the liberation of the country and accept what is stated in this Charter.

ARTICLE 10 - Membership of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall not automatically imply any loss of independence by the patriotic member organisations of the Front.

ARTICLE 11 - Admission to the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be under the terms of the Membership Rules worked out by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.

ARTICLE 12 - Without prejudice to the reservations laid down in the present Charter, members of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall have equal rights and duties.

ARTICLE 13 - The functions of members of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be, fundamentally:

(a) Firmly to implement and to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the present Charter, as well as the resolutions and the policy of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

(b) Patriotically to analyse, discuss and put forward proposals on all matters relating to the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

(c) To take an active part in the work of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola, endeavouring under all circumstances to consolidate and broaden the Front.

(d) To do maximum propaganda and agitation, both internally and internationally, in favour of the present Charter and of the policy of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

(e) To elect and be elected, under the terms of the present Charter, to the different organisational posts of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

(f) To ensure close cooperation among members, practising mutual aid and open fraternal criticism.

(g) To deal unflinching blows against colonialism in all its forms, and against the imperialism that supports it, our country's avowed enemies.

ARTICLE 14 - In accordance with the degree of guilt manifest in his behaviour, any member of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola, after a hearing by the Disciplinary Commission, shall be subject to criticism, warning, suspension or expulsion from the Front for discrediting, obstructing or violating the present Charter or the resolutions or policy of the Front.

ARTICLE 15 - Betrayal of the country's liberation cause shall imply immediate loss of membership of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola, and the guilty person shall be subject to the measures which, in the interests of national liberation, are prescribed for traitors.

### CHAPTER III

#### ORGANS

ARTICLE 16 - The United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be an organic unit whose highest deliberative council shall be the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, whose highest military executive shall be the Unified Military Command, and whose highest political executive shall be the Political Council of Angola.

ARTICLE 17 - The three highest organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall maintain their headquarters in the Republic of Zaire for so long as the conditions shall not have been created for their definitive establishment on national territory.

ARTICLE 18 - The three highest organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be of a joint nature and shall consist of patriots appointed on agreement between the member political organisations of the United Front.

ARTICLE 19 - Whenever necessary, any one of the three highest organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola may meet in a place other than its headquarters.

ARTICLE 20 - Within the joint organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola work shall be based on frank and tolerant discussion and on free and conscious voting in the joint and determined action of all its members.

ARTICLE 21 - The reform, dissolution or establishment of any highest organ of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall be subject to approval by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.

ARTICLE 22 - In order that the action of the three highest organs may best express the revolutionary will of the patriots in the United Front for the Liberation of Angola, there shall be, as a general consultative body, a Council of Militants consisting of patriots democratically elected by the individual members of the United Front, in accordance with regulations laid down by the militants themselves.

### CHAPTER IV

#### SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

##### COMPOSITION

ARTICLE 23 - The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall consist of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, all the members of the UMC, and all the members of the PCA, all of whom shall be appointed on agreement between the member organisations of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

ARTICLE 24 - The functions of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall be:

- (a) To deliberate on all matters within the scope of the present Charter and relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and make recommendations it deems advisable on all matters relating to Angolan nationalism.
- (b) To consider and discuss all ordinary and extraordinary reports submitted to it by the highest executive organs of the United Front.
- (c) To ensure active cooperation among the different organs of the United Front.
- (d) To promote ever broader and deeper unity among the different members of the United Front.
- (e) Periodically to work out the general political, diplomatic and military line to be applied by the Political Council of Angola and the Unified Military Command, and to see to its application when advisable.
- (f) To work out the membership rules of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.
- (g) To establish the Permanent Disciplinary Commission and refer to it for judgement all offences committed by any member of the three highest organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola whenever it considers them liable to any of the measures provided for in Articles 14 and 15 of the present Charter.
- (h) To consult the Council of Militants when advisable.

ARTICLE 25 - The function of the Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall be:

- (a) To ensure the equality of rights and duties of members of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.
- (b) Attentively to see to the consolidation and broadening of unity among members of the Front and among Angolan patriots in general.
- (c) To represent the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola in its relations with the other organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola and abroad.
- (d) Promptly to inform the members of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola of any violation of the present Charter or of decisions of the said Supreme Council by any member of the highest executive organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.
- (e) To make all the recommendations to the Political Council of Angola and the Unified Military Command that he deems appropriate to the proper application of decisions of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.
- (f) To convene meetings of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola and to preside over the proceedings of the working sessions.

ARTICLE 26 - The functions of the Vice-Chairman shall be:

- (a) To assist the Chairman in the performance of his functions.

(b) To replace the Chairman if he is unable to attend.

(c) To perform the functions of Secretary to the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, and, in this capacity, to be responsible for keeping and running the general archives of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

#### VOTING

ARTICLE 27 - Each member of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall have one vote.

Decisions of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall be made by a relative majority of the members present and voting.

Decisions on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

Important questions shall include: recommendations to the different Angolan nationalist organisations, the admission of organisations to the United Front for the Liberation of Angola, referring any member to the Permanent Disciplinary Commission for judgement, the revision of the present Charter, and the inclusion of additional categories of questions to be decided by a majority vote of two-thirds of the members of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola present and voting.

ARTICLE 28 - Referring a member of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola to the Permanent Disciplinary Commission for judgement for an offence which makes him liable to expulsion automatically implies the withholding of his right to vote at meetings of the said Supreme Council.

#### PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 29 - The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall hold ordinary meetings every six months and extraordinary meetings when the circumstances so demand.

Extraordinary meetings shall be convened on the initiative of the Chairman or of one third of the members of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.

ARTICLE 30 - The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola shall adopt its own general rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 31 - The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola may establish, reform or dissolve any subsidiary organ as required for the performance of its functions.

### CHAPTER V

#### UNIFIED MILITARY COMMAND

#### COMPOSITION

ARTICLE 32 - The Unified Military Command shall consist of fourteen members, one of whom shall be Chairman and another Vice-Chairman, and all of whom shall be appointed on agreement between the member organisations of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

#### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

ARTICLE 33 - The functions of the Unified Military Command shall be, fundamentally:

(a) To integrate the Unitary Armed Forces of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola and to prepare them politically, organisationally and technically.

(b) To establish, deepen and extend bonds of thought, organisation and action in the political, military, economic, social and cultural spheres between the Unitary Armed Forces and the people in rural and urban areas deemed important to the development of the national liberation war.

(c) To deal active blows against the avowed enemies of the country by working out and seeing to the carrying out, with initiative and flexibility, of programmes of action for the Unified Military Command, and a general strategy for the Unitary Armed Forces, in implementation of the line laid down by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola and in accordance with the aims and principles laid down in the present Charter.

(d) To promote, deepen and extend bonds of thought and of patriotic cooperation between the Unitary Armed Forces and the independent armed forces of the MPLA, the FRLA, or any other Angolan organisation resisting the common enemy.

(e) To promote, deepen and extend bonds of just cooperation between the Unitary Armed Forces and foreign peoples and organisations prepared to help to advance the Angolan people's military action.

(f) To put to the different bodies and organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola all questions, recommendations, directives, instructions or measures deemed advisable under the terms of the present Charter and in the interest of unity and the development of the national liberation struggle.

(g) To submit reports and information to the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, in accordance with the present Charter and as required by work.

(h) To protect the people and the United Front for the Liberation of Angola against enemy attacks and subversion.

(i) To promote and guarantee, in all spheres and at all echelons of the Unitary Armed Forces, the militant spirit of a single patriotic organisation, independent of any member organisation of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

(j) To promote and ensure within the Unitary Armed Forces the heightening of the physical and moral qualities of the fighters, their condition as armed patriots, paying special attention to developing honesty, the spirit of self-sacrifice, fraternity, political ability and military ability, and all this on the basis of methodical and constant study and practice, political and economic equality between commanders and fighters, just structures, timely and constructive criticism, love for the people and conscious discipline.

ARTICLE 34 - The integration of the Unitary Armed Forces referred to in Article 33 of the present Charter shall be based on the voluntary recruitment of patriots who, not being members of any Angolan political organisations, freely accept the Charter of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola and are prepared to struggle effectively against the country's enemy.

ARTICLE 35 - The functions of the Chairman of the Unified Military Command shall be:

(a) To ensure the equality of rights and duties of members of the command.

(b) To represent the Unified Military Command in its relations with organs and bodies of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola and abroad.

(c) Promptly to inform the Unified Military Command of any violations of the present Charter or of decisions of the said Military Command by any member, organ or body subordinate to it.

(d) To convene meetings of the Unified Military Command and preside over the proceedings of working sessions.

ARTICLE 36 - The Functions of the Vice-Chairman shall be:

(a) To assist the Chairman in the performance of his functions.

(b) To replace the Chairman if he is unable to attend.

(c) To perform the functions of Secretary to the Unified Military Command and be responsible for keeping and running the archives of the Unified Military Command.

#### VOTING

ARTICLE 37 - Each member of the Unified Military Command shall be entitled to one vote.

Decisions of the Unified Military Command shall be made by a relative majority of the members present and voting.

#### PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 38 - The Unified Military Command shall hold monthly ordinary meetings and extraordinary meetings when the circumstances so demand.

Extraordinary meetings shall be convened on the initiative of the Chairman or of one third of the members of the UMC.

ARTICLE 39 - The Unified Military Command shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 40 - The Unified Military Command may establish, reform or dissolve any subsidiary organ as required for the performance of its functions.

### C H A P T E R VI

#### POLITICAL COUNCIL OF ANGOLA

##### COMPOSITION

ARTICLE 41 - The Political Council of Angola (PCA) shall consist of 14 members, one of whom shall be Chairman and another Vice-Chairman, and all of whom shall be appointed on agreement between the member organisations of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola.

##### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

ARTICLE 42 - The functions of the Political Council of Angola shall be, fundamentally:

(a) To work out and put into effect a political, diplomatic and administrative programme of action in implementation of the general political line laid down by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola and in accordance with the aims and principles outlined in the present Charter.



- (b) To distribute efficiently among its members the tasks consequent upon the programme of action and promote among them a spirit of fraternal criticism and mutual aid, intensive and considered action, respect for the people and sense of national dignity.
- (c) To politicise, mobilise and guide the population for the struggle, more especially in the areas deemed important to the development of military action.
- (d) To make all recommendations it deems advisable, in the interest of the struggle and national unity, both to the different organs of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola and to the different national entities.
- (e) To forge and strengthen bonds of solidarity and cooperation with different peoples, organisations, individuals and foreign governments showing friendship or understanding towards the Angolan people's just struggle.
- (f) To act promptly to facilitate the performance of the tasks incumbent upon the Unified Military Command.
- (g) To submit to the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola reports proposals and information required by virtue of the present Charter or for the furtherance of work.
- (h) To consult the Council of Militants when advisable.

ARTICLE 43 - The functions of the Chairman of the Political Council of Angola shall be:

- (a) To ensure the equality of rights and duties of the different members of the said Council.
- (b) attentively to see to the consolidation and broadening of unity among members of the Front and among Angolan patriots in general.
- (c) To represent the Political Council of Angola in its relations with other bodies and organs of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola and abroad.
- (d) Promptly to inform the members of the Political Council of Angola of any violation of the present Charter or of decisions of the said Council by any member, body or organ subordinate to the Council.
- (e) To convene meetings of the Political Council of Angola and preside over the proceedings of the working sessions.

ARTICLE 44 - The functions of the Vice-Chairman shall be:

- (a) To assist the Chairman in the performance of his functions.
- (b) To replace the Chairman if he is unable to attend.
- (c) To perform the functions of Secretary to the Political Council of Angola and, in this capacity, to be responsible for keeping and running the archives of the Political Council.

#### VOTING

ARTICLE 45 - Each member of the Political Council of Angola shall be entitled to one vote.

Decisions of the Political Council of Angola shall be made by a relative majority of the members present and voting.

## PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 46 - The Political Council of Angola shall meet in ordinary session every two months and in extraordinary session when the circumstances so demand.

Extraordinary meetings shall be convened on the initiative of the Chairman or of one third of the members of the PCA.

ARTICLE 47 - The Political Council of Angola shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 48 - The Political Council of Angola may establish, reform or dissolve any subsidiary organ as required for the performance of its functions.

## C H A P T E R VII

### FINANCES

ARTICLE 49 - The finances of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola shall consist essentially of contributions from its members, under the terms of the general regulation of finances worked out by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.

ARTICLE 50 - The funds of the United Front for the Liberation of Angola may be withdrawn only by means of the joint signature of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the General Finance Commission established by the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola.

## C H A P T E R VIII

### OMISSIONS AND REVISIONS OF THE CHARTER

ARTICLE 51 - Only a joint meeting of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola and the Council of Militants may decide on omissions or the revision of the present Charter by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

ARTICLE 52 - The joint meeting of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola and the Council of Militants shall be convened by the Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola at the request of two-thirds of the members of the said Supreme Council.

## C H A P T E R IX

### COMING INTO FORCE

ARTICLE 53 - The present Charter, of which the Portuguese, French and English texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Organisation of African Unity and of each of the members of the Conciliation Commission, and shall come into force immediately upon the affixing of the signatures of the Presidents of the MPLA and the FNLA.

In witness thereof, the undersigned representatives duly authorised by the MPLA and the FNLA, sign this Charter.

Signed at Kinshasa, this ..... day of ..... 1973